



BANCROFT LIBRARY



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

BUTTRICK'S VOYAGES, TRAVELS, AND DISCOVERIES
1812-1819

Reprint of the original edition: Boston, 1831



VOYAGES,

TRAVELS AND DISCOVERIES

OF TILLY BUTTRICK, JR.

Boston:
PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR.
John Putnam, Printer.
1831.

PREFATORY REMARKS

IN preparing this little work for the press, the Editor had not only in view the interest with which an enlightened people seize upon facts not previously in their possession; but sympathy for this unfortunate traveller, who by misfortune has now not only become bereft of his property, but, by providential circumstances, of his sight, contributed to induce him to copy it for the press. And he confidentially trusts, if the information contained in the following work is not sufficient to induce every individual to become a purchaser, that sympathy for the past and present sufferings of a fellow creature will forbid them to withhold the small sum solicited for the pamphlet.

TRAVELS AND DISCOVERIES

I WAS born in Westford, County of Middlesex, and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, on the sixth day of July, 1783. I lived with my father, Tilly Buttrick, until I was ten years old; when he removed to Princeton, in the County of Worcester, where was the summer seat and residence of his Honor Lieutenant Governor Moses Gill. I was put to Mr. Gill, where I lived in his service five years, after which I went and lived with my father, who now lived in Groton, near where I was born, two years. At the expiration of that time, being in my seventeenth year, I was placed by my father in a mercantile house, in Boston. My master, D. Hastings Esq., was a respectable merchant, and one of the best of men. With him I resided until I was twenty one years of age. Being desirous of seeing more of the world than my present situation allowed, I resolved to go to sea. Accordingly I shipped on board the fine ship *Alnomak*, of Boston, bound for the Isle of France. Our crew consisted of seventeen in number, mounting eight guns. On the tenth of September, 1804, we weighed anchor, and left the harbor of Boston, with a fair wind, which continued until the twelfth, in the afternoon; at which time we were clear of the land; the wind then gradually decreased, until we were becalmed, which was about six o'clock the same evening. We remained in this situation about one hour, and night coming on, it was noticed that the sea was greatly agitated; which is very uncommon in a calm.

[6] The night was extremely dark, and the surfs that broke about us appeared like huge banks of snow. At

this time many observations were made by the crew, the oldest sailors observing that we should soon find out the meaning of this phenomenon. The wind soon began to breeze up ahead, all hands were called to put the vessel under close sail, and before nine o'clock it blew a tremendous gale; which obliged us to lay to, as she was heavily laden. The wind continued to blow for thirty six hours, and the ship labored with great difficulty. The storm then began to abate, and coming about fair, we laid our course and proceeded on our voyage. On our way we often fell in with large schools of fish of different kinds, such as Porpoise, Dolphin, Boneator, &c., and were very successful in taking them, which supplied us with something fresh to eat. We passed in sight of the island of Teneriffe and many other islands, and the coast of Barbary. In crossing the equator, we were several days becalmed. On the twenty-second of December, we arrived at the cape of Good Hope, a Dutch settlement in the southern extremity of Africa, and came to anchor in Table Bay. We found the people here very industrious, working their cattle, which are of the Buffaloe kind, by means of a square piece of wood lashed to their horns, across the front of their heads. Often six or eight yoke of oxen were thus harnessed in one team. They were very handsome cattle, excepting the hump on their shoulders, so much resembling the Buffaloe. The meat of these cattle is plenty, but not equally good with our American oxen, being tough, of a yellowish cast, and rather unsavory. Sheep are common here, and to appearance much larger than the sheep in our own country. This may be owing partly to their having longer legs than our sheep, and consequently taller. Their meat is excellent, and perhaps equals in flavor any found in North America, or any other nation. But their

wool is of little value, being as coarse as dogs' hair. The tails of these creatures are sold separate from their bodies, and have the appearance of a large lump of tallow weighing from fourteen to twenty pounds.

In the suburbs of the town, I observed two of the feathered tribe, which I afterward learned were ostriches; [7] who, upon discovering me, raised their heads much higher than my own, and appeared no less frightened than myself, and were no less willing to make good their retreat.

The 25th, being Christmas, our sailors undertook to imitate the landmen in cheerfulness and hilarity; the night was spent in high glee. Next morning all hands were called, but not coming on deck so soon as was expected, the mates came forward with handspikes to hurry them. They were met by the sailors with the same kind of weapons; and although nothing very serious took place, yet it caused considerable difficulty between the officers and crew. The captain being on shore was soon notified, when a guard of soldiers were sent on board; one man was taken and committed to prison on shore, where he remained a few days, and was then put on board and sent to America. No punishment was inflicted upon the remainder, but they were strictly watched.

Here we remained until the first day of January, 1805, when not being able to dispose of our cargo as we expected, we weighed anchor and put to sea. But soon a twenty four pound ball, fired from the guard ship lying one hundred yards distant, besprinkling me with water, as I stood on the bowsprit, occasioned us to drop anchor and send our pass on board the guard ship, which our captain omitted to do, though required by the law of the place. This being done, we immediately weighed anchor and stood out to sea.

The next morning we had lost sight of land, and in the course of the day, the wind blew a terrible gale; the sea ran mountains high, the ship was hove to, and we rode out the storm, which continued about twelve hours. After which we continued our course with the trade winds about forty days. In the mean time our supercargo fell sick and in about six weeks died. The usual ceremonies at sea were performed, and his remains committed to a watery grave. Thinking ourselves far enough to windward of the Island, to bear away, we accordingly did so, and running twenty-four hours we discovered land. Supposing it to be our intended port, we were greatly rejoiced. But when coming within four miles of land, to our great mortification we found it to be the island of [8] Madagascar, four hundred and eighty miles to the leeward of the isle of France. This was a sorrowful tale for us to hear, as we must have a head wind and oftentimes a current in our return. We had become short of water, and for several days had been on allowance.

The grass on the sides of the ship had become one foot in length, which greatly impeded our progress and rendered our situation truly distressing. The ship was put about and stood to the south, as near as we could lay to the wind.

The island of Madagascar, is inhabited by negroes, with whom little or no trade is carried on by the whites. We dared not venture ourselves on shore here, to obtain water, for two reasons. First, we were afraid of the rocks and shoals, as there were no pilots to be had; and secondly, should we arrive safe on shore, we might be massacred by those uncivilized people.

While ruminating on these unfortunate circumstances, our ship was struck by a white squall, very common in that eastern world, which carried away our foretop mast

and maintop gallant mast and did much damage to the sails and rigging. This was probably fortunate for us, as the masts must have gone, or the ship upset. The squall being over, it soon began to rain very heavily. Stopping the scuppers, all who were able employed themselves in dipping water from the deck. We filled six casks of a hundred gallons each, which proved a very seasonable and ample supply. Every exertion was now made, both by the officers and crew, and continued until the 20th of March, when we considered ourselves far enough to windward to bear away, and next morning discovered land, and found it to be our long wished for island; the isle of France. The harbor being on the leeward side, we ran around, and not finding it so soon as we expected, we saw several sail boats lying about, near the shore, and hoped to find a pilot among them. But none appearing we fired a gun as a signal. Unfortunately the gun was loaded with a ball, which went close to several of them. This frightened the poor Frenchmen, and they made for the shore with all possible speed, supposing us to be Englishmen.

[9] Within thirty minutes we discovered a large sail bearing towards us from the harbor. On its approaching us to our surprise we found it to be a French man of war, ready for action; and coming close too, and hailing us, they ordered our captain on board of the ship, and took us under their protection, and stood for the harbor. We were not insensible of the reason of this, from the circumstance of the above mentioned shot, which was fired from the entrance of this harbor. The head of the harbor, on which the town stands, is about three miles from the entrance. The channel being narrow, the only way of getting up is by warping, to assist in which buoys are set at a suitable distance; a rope is made fast, the ship is hauled to one and then to another, and so on through the whole.

A gang of negroes were placed on board the vessel, and assisted in performing this labor, until we arrived safe on our mooring ground. Our captain was then conducted on shore, by a guard, and after due examination, was found innocent of any ill design. We found this harbor a very pleasant and delightful one; and from seventy to eighty American vessels lying there. In a few days we commenced discharging our cargo and sending it on shore; we also stripped the ship to the lower mast; this being done, we were about to repair the rigging and sails, when the monsoons made their appearance.

These monsoons, so called, are the changing of the wind, which blows in one direction from March to September; then, shifting and whiffing about, blowing high gales, and sometimes a hurricane, commences a contrary direction, and so continues the remainder of the year, it being the time when the sun crosses the equator. Vessels generally, are afraid of being found at sea in this country, at this season. The wind at this time was very variable, blowing from different points and constituting a terrible gale, which lasted about forty-eight hours. Every precaution was taken for the safety of the vessels lying in the harbor; by mooring them by two anchors ahead, and two astern, according to the requirements of the law; nevertheless, the shipping in the harbor, consisting of one hundred and fifty sail, French, Dutch, Danes, etc., but mostly Americans, presented a most unpleasant [10] spectacle. Fifteen or twenty vessels of different sizes, were driven on shore, and some of them, when the water fell, were nearly high and dry. But few lives were lost; although there was a great destruction of property. The inhabitants of this island are very friendly to the American people, and an immense trade is carried on between the two countries. About fifty yards from the shore, stood a spacious build-

ing, occupied as a hospital, in which was a great number of patients. Directly on the bank is a small building, which is called a death house. When any one died in the hospital, they were removed and deposited in this small house, when they were placed in a coffin or box, large enough to contain two. If another was expected to die immediately, it remained until the second was placed in it; then being put into a boat manned by three negroes, expressly for that purpose, it was rowed down about two miles and a half, being that distance from any dwelling house, when the bodies were taken out of the coffin, hauled up on shore, and thrown into a lime pit, seemingly formed by nature. The boat then returns with the coffin, and here ends the funeral ceremonies. The dissolvent power of this earth, assisted by the rays of the sun, soon decomposes and destroys these bodies, and the remote distance from any dwelling houses, prevents any evil consequences, which might otherwise follow such a mode of burial. This boat is well known by the black flag, which it carries hoisted, and often passes three or four times in twenty four hours.

The labor in this place is done by slaves, who are kept under close subjection. They are separated into gangs, over each of which is placed an overseer or driver. During the labor of the day, should any of them commit an offence, even of the smallest nature, it is marked down by this driver, and communicated to the principal overseer at evening. Early next morning, when called out to their usual labor, they are punished according to the aggravation of the offence. If small, they are punished with a rattan, on their naked backs. If guilty of an aggravated offence, they are lashed to a post, and so horribly whipped and mangled as at times to leave the bones denuded of their flesh, and in open view.

[11] HORRID EXECUTION

Several times hearing the noise of cannon, and seeing a red flag hoisted, on inquiry I found that one or more negroes were to be executed. One day as this occurred, I went on shore and finding a number of people passing to a plain, back of the town, I followed on, and arriving at the place of execution, saw a rope drawn round a circle of about three hundred feet; inside of which stood a platform about ten feet square, standing on posts five feet from the ground. On the top of this platform lay a common plank, one end of which was raised about two feet, and extended even with the end of the platform. Here I waited for the space of half an hour, when, hearing the sound of music, and looking around, I saw a company of soldiers advancing. In the rear of them was a cart, with two young negroes in it, and a Roman Catholic priest following after. They coming within the circle, the company formed, and the negroes were taken from the cart and conducted to the scaffold. The priest followed and conversed with them a short time, when a negro man mounted the scaffold, with a broad axe in one hand and a rope in the other. Looking very fierce, he ordered one to lay down on the plank, with his chin extended over the end. After lashing him tight to the plank with his rope, he raised his axe and with one stroke, severed his head from his body. Then unfastening the body he threw it down where the head had fallen.

The other poor fellow, terrified and trembling at this awful sight, and scarcely able to stand, was soon ordered to lie down in the same manner of the former, which he very reluctantly did, the plank being already covered with the blood of his fellow victim. The rope was then thrown around him, as before mentioned; the axe was again raised by this infernal butcher, with an apparent gratifica-

tion and hardihood, shocking to human nature, and seeming to glut his revenge for the reluctance with which the criminal laid himself down on the plank. After several blows he at last succeeded in severing his head from his body.

To paint this horrible scene in its true colors, the wild despair of the criminals, before their execution, and agony [12] afterwards, indicated by the thousand changing motions of the face, and the shooting out of the tongue, is beyond the power of language to describe; their only crime was taking four dollars from a slave, sent by his master to some other person.

In about three weeks after our arrival in this place, there appeared off this island, five English men of war, which had left here about six weeks before, for fear of the former gale. This squadron was for the purpose of blockading the island, and remained during our stay at this place. They were very diligent on their stations, but effected but little; they would often appear close in to the mouth of the harbor, but I never knew them fall in with an enemy. The war still existed between France and Great Britain, and several vessels and privateers were fitted out of this port, and would often send in valuable prizes; large ships laden with India and China goods, would be sent in unmolested, which was surprising to all who saw it. At one time an English sloop of war appeared in the mouth of the harbor; spying a twenty four pound gun about three fourths of a mile on shore, manned by five soldiers, they tried their skill by firing an eighteen pound shot at them, which hit the carriage, upset the gun and killed two of the men. The other three men fearing a second compliment, took to flight and made all possible speed for the town, where they arrived in great confusion. We now began to think it time for a cargo to come on

board the Almonak. But soon found it to consist only of stone to ballast the ship. Being soon in readiness, on the first of August we put to sea, leaving this port for the island of Sumatra.

On our passage we were several times boarded by English men of war ships, and after a strict examination were permitted to pass. We passed close to the island of Ceylon, an English island, and saw colors hoisted, but made no stop. On the first of September, we arrived on the western coast of Sumatra. As there were no regular maps or charts of this coast, we could only traverse it by information derived from masters of vessels, which had traded there, and our own judgment. There are many reefs and rocks, which extend into the sea a considerable distance. Many of which lay but just below the surface [13] of the water. It was therefore found necessary to keep a good look out, one man at mast head and others closely watching below. We at last discovered a small bay, and run into it; the place was called Moco. This is one of the trading places. There are several others, such as Soosoo, Mecca, Bencooban, and Pecung. At the latter place, there was formerly a company of Dutch, who settled there for the purpose of trading with the natives. But in consequence of the English cruisers on the one side, and fear of the natives on the other, they had evacuated the place and returned to Batavia, from whence they came hither. We came to anchor in our first mentioned port, and prepared against any attack which might be made by these savages, by tricing up a boarding-netting round the ship, about fifteen feet above the deck. This netting was made of line, about the size of a cod line, and wove together like a seine for taking fish; our guns were loaded and primed, with matches burning by the side, boarding pikes, muskets and cutlasses at hand, and a centinel walk-

ing the deck. A gun was fired at sunrise and the colors hoisted; another at sunset when the colors were taken down. We had not been long at this place, before we were visited by several boats from the shore. They were ordered to haul close alongside of the ship; a gun was pointed into their boats, and a man to each gun with a lighted match in his hand. Should they attempt to rise we were in readiness to receive them, and soon put a stop to their proceedings.

They then asked permission to come on board; this was granted to three or four of them. A gun was then hauled back, and they allowed to crawl in at the port hole, while the rest remained as they were. Some of them spoke good English, and began to inquire if we wanted pepper. We answered, yes. The captain agreed with them about the price, and in a few days we were furnished with about fifteen tons. The natives brought the pepper in their own boats, and it was weighed on board of the ship, with our weights and scales, which we brought for that purpose. They were very particular in examining them, and fearful of being defrauded.

One man, whom we supposed was their clerk, took the weight of each draft, and at the close footed it up, and [14] cast the amount in dollars, as quick and as well as though he had been a regular bred merchant. They write fast, but from right to left. While here the captain was invited on shore, and went in a boat with four men; each armed with a cutlass. Three were left to guard the boat. Taking me with him we proceeded towards the village, which is about half a mile from shore, escorted by some of the chiefs through a narrow path, and thick wood of Bamboo and Cocoa nut. On our way, we could often see the heads of the inhabitants peeping from behind the trees, or through the bushes, but would often start and run

when we approached them. On coming to the village we found a cluster of small houses, situated but a little distance from each other, standing on six or eight posts, and about three feet from the ground, being built similar to log houses in America. The tops of these houses were covered with bark and leaves, and were sufficiently tight to prevent the water from penetrating through them. I learned that there were about four hundred inhabitants in this village.

There were many men and boys to be seen about among these huts; but not one female. They show few marks of industry, a few only being employed in making sails for boats, from a kind of bark, which they work together very ingeniously. I saw no implement of husbandry, nor any household furniture, excepting a few kettles, standing about the doors of their log huts. These people are of a copper color, small in size, seldom weighing more than one hundred pounds; their food consists principally of fruit, rice and fish. They are indolent, but subtle and full of intrigue; they speak a Malay dialect, and are by persuasion Mahometans. They consider it their duty to take the life of a Christian; they are very avaricious, and seek every opportunity of obtaining money; Spanish dollars is the only coin they will receive, and which they obtain in large sums for their pepper, which grows in great abundance on this island. It is difficult to know what they do with their silver, as their expenditures must be small, their clothing generally consisting of a small cloth round their waist, extending down to their knees. Some of the higher order wear a mantle over their shoulders extending nearly [15] to their feet, with a small piece of cloth neatly worked, covering the top part of the head; a belt around their waist with a long knife or creese in it, the blade of which is very ordinary, but sharp; the handle

is generally made of silver, but sometimes of gold and worked in a curious manner; these except the handles are purchased of foreigners. Opium, although prohibited, is obtained and used to excess by the natives in this island. They chew and smoke it frequently to intoxication, and substitute it for ardent spirit, which they make no use of. Instead of tobacco they have a kind of reddish weed, which they mix up with something resembling white paint, stirring it with their thumb and finger, and crowding it into their mouths in the most disgusting manner. They have no fire arms, not knowing the use of powder; but are very expert with their knives. When meeting each other, instead of shaking hands in the American way, they salute each other by striking their knives together. They are in separate tribes; each is governed by a rajah or king, whose commands are implicitly obeyed. At the sale or purchase of any goods, he must first be consulted, and permission granted, and a certain part of all monies received are paid to him. Polygamy is allowed; the number of wives a man has, depends on his ability to maintain them. They are considered as personal property, and are bought and sold at pleasure.¹

After purchasing all the pepper that could be procured in this place, we weighed anchor and stood along the coast, about thirty miles. When about one mile off land, we espied a number of natives on shore, and let go anchor. They coming out in boats, we treated them in the same manner as we had done those before mentioned. The reason of our using so much precaution, was, information that several vessels had been taken by the natives and their crews massacred. Finding no pepper at this place,

¹ This description of the natives is given as they were found in 1805. How far they have since become conformed to civilized life, the author is unable to say.— BUTTRICK.

and being told that by going about twenty-five miles further up we could procure a plentiful supply, we weighed anchor and proceeded to the place pointed out by the natives. When we arrived we found that information [16] had been given, and preparations made for procuring all the pepper that could be obtained. Loaded boats came out, which we received for several days; the pepper was weighed off and paid for to the owners and all things appeared to go on well. This looked encouraging, and we expected soon to have a full cargo, they repeatedly saying we should have greater quantities by waiting a short time longer. We knew not their object at the time, but afterwards had reason to suspect their intentions. However, after waiting several days and receiving no more supplies, we passed up thirty or forty miles further. Here it appearing like a favorable place, we dropped anchor about five o'clock in the evening, two miles from the shore. It was calm, and the evening was pleasant. About eleven o'clock at night, we heard the oars of several boats coming. By the light of the moon we soon discovered them to be three in number, one with about twenty-five men and the others with about fifteen men each. I being on deck, notified the captain below, who immediately came up and hailed them; they answered and asked if we wanted pepper; our answer was yes. Coming along side, they were placed as before mentioned. All appeared very desirous of coming on board, but only three were permitted. As they came in at the port hole, we took from each his creese or knife. This appeared not to please them. At this time they were uncommonly merry, looking earnestly about on every thing on deck, which could be plainly discerned from the light of the moon. The captain says to them, how much pepper have you?

they answered, we have none here but will bring you some bye and bye.

One of them walking down into the cabin, the captain ordered me to follow him. The second mate lay in his berth asleep; he looked at him very earnestly and laughed; there were two lamps burning on the table, he took one and blew it out, then looking at the mate again he laughed; lit the lamp, sat it down. He soon blew it out the second time; mistrusting his objects, I seized him by the shoulder and soon had him on deck, and notified the captain, when all hands were immediately called. The natives in the boat appeared very uneasy, some standing upright, others were puking over the side; this [17] was enough to tell us that they were intoxicated from the too free use of opium. As they had no pepper, and coming in such a number, their intention undoubtedly was to take the ship, and after massacreing the crew to plunder her. But seeing us so well guarded, they thought it not best to make an attack, although they were three times our number.

The captain then ordered these three to go immediately into their boats, with orders to steer straight from the ship's side and not to vary either to the right or left, for should they disobey, they would receive the contents of our guns among their boats. They obeyed, although with great reluctance, which to us was a certain proof of their ill intentions.

Although these men are small in stature, and possess but little muscular strength, yet when intoxicated they are savage, cruel and fearless as mad dogs. The next morning we stood along the shore for several miles, and were met by some Indian canoes. We then came to anchor, went on shore and purchased a large quantity of pepper, which was brought on board, weighed and paid for. We

remained here several days, during which time some of our crew saw and recognized some of the same persons who made us the evening visit which I have already mentioned. They discovered no hostile intentions at this time. We continued along the coast, stopping at different places, until we had about completed our cargo, without any damage except the loss of two anchors, and narrowly escaping the rocks, which came nearly to the top of the water. We were fortunate enough to procure another anchor of a ship, which had just arrived on the coast. A few days before we left the island, we fell in with an English brig, which came there for the purpose of trading with the natives, but unarmed. He came to anchor near us, and observed that he wished to lie under the cover of our guns, while we remained here, observing that the day before, he saw a sail standing in, having the appearance of a French privateer, and should that be the case, he should probably fall into their hands, and lose his all, as this vessel and cargo was all the property which he possessed.

[18] He also told the captain of the *Almonak*, that he had a number of curiosities on board, which he would present to him for his acceptance; among which was a creature called the ourang-outang; he was taken at the island of Borneo, and is a great curiosity, even in India. When walking upright, this creature was about four feet high, his head resembling that of a young negro child. This creature moved with ease, was good natured to white people, would often put his arm around the sailors' necks and walk fore and aft the deck with them; but towards negroes he appeared to have an inveterate hatred. Our cook was a large black fellow, and when employed in any particular business, especially that of stooping, this creature would come behind him and clinch and bite him

most severely; and in a very few minutes would be at the top-mast head, looking down and seemingly laughing, as though he had gained some important victory; while the poor cook was left to rub his wounds without being able to obtain any further satisfaction. The English brig being manned by Lascar sailors, which are black, the captain said that in a gale of wind he always felt himself unsafe to send them aloft in the night, as the ourang-outang would often follow them, and take every advantage to bite and harass them. We kept this creature till we had been at sea about fifteen days on our home-bound passage, and were in hopes of presenting one of the greatest curiosities ever seen in America. But to our grief one morning he came from aloft on deck, made some signs of sickness, laid down and died instantly. An unfortunate Dutch sailor, who twenty-five years before had been impressed into the English service, had lately made his escape and got on board the brig I have mentioned. Wishing to return to Holland, his native country, we took him on board our ship, and, although many times boarded by English men of war and strictly searched, he secreted himself so closely that he remained undiscovered until we conveyed him safely on board one of his own country ships. The poor fellow often said, "I am afraid I shall find none of my relations or friends left, after so long an absence."

We now took leave of our English friends, and completing our cargo, on the last of October, after a stay of [19] two months on this coast, we weighed anchor and stood out to sea, bound to the Isle of France, where we arrived on the first of December. Remaining there three weeks, we again put to sea, and in fifteen days came in sight of the Cape of Good Hope. Falling about ten miles to the leeward, we bore up with a fair and brisk wind, just

passing round the point of the Cape, when it became an entire calm. This was worse than a gale; the sea running very high, the ship rolled from side to side, and oftentimes would almost roll her yards into the water. Oftentimes we thought she would upset or her mast go overboard. After remaining in this situation about two hours, a breeze sprung up which enabled us to pursue our course, and which continued until we arrived near the coast of the United States of America. One afternoon, about four o'clock, saw a schooner ahead; coming near to her, she lowered all sail. We hailed her, and asked if any thing was wanted; and were answered, as we thought, no. We hailed the second time, and received the same answer; understanding that they wanted nothing. One of the crew thought she said differently, when, on a third inquiry, found they were an American vessel, had neither bread, meat, or lights, and were in a state of complete starvation. Several of them had become so weak as to lash themselves to the rigging for safety. We supplied them with all the necessaries we could possibly spare, being short ourselves, but sufficient as we supposed to take them to New London, Connecticut, their intended port. They had been out sixty-seven days from the Spanish main, in South America, and for the five last days had nothing to eat except a few crumbs of biscuit which they had collected together. On the morning of the day on which we expected to see land, the weather being cloudy, about eight o'clock, breakers were discovered a-head, and the water striking high into the air. Put the ship about, and running but a short time the same was seen still a-head; the water seeming muddy, hove the lead, and found ten fathom water. We ran this course but a little distance before we found ourselves surrounded with breakers on all sides. The wind being fresh and a heavy sea, we were

constantly throwing the lead, and found sometimes [20] twenty fathom water, sometimes ten; about one o'clock, finding but five fathom, which is thirty feet, expecting every minute the ship would strike to the bottom, the captain ordered axes to be brought, and every man to take care of himself. Our boats being much worm-eaten could be of no use to us should the ship strike; therefore the only way would be to cut away the masts. The fog continuing there could be no observation taken, and no one knowing where we were, nothing could be done but to direct our course as well as we could to avoid these difficulties. At eight o'clock in the evening we found a sufficient depth of water, and on examination found it to be Nantucket South shoals; the wind then being fair, in the middle of April, eighteen hundred and six, we arrived in the port of Boston.

I remained in Boston until the middle of June following, when I agreed with a gentleman to go to Liverpool on board a new ship then lying in Kennebeck river. On my arrival at that place, finding neither owner nor captain, and the ship being but partly laden, I waited for several days, and then shipped on board the schooner Decatur, an old vessel of one hundred tons burthen. She lay alongside of the wharf, and so heavily laden with lumber as to cause her decks to be under water. Our crew consisted of only six in number; no more could be obtained. The captain offering us the extra pay of one deficient hand to be divided among us, we accepted, and on the third day of July put to sea. We immediately found we had sufficient employment; only three hands before the mast, one hand at the helm, one at the pump, and the other not wanting for employment. We soon began to repent of our bargain, but there was no help for it. We were bound for Montego Bay, north side of the island of Jamaica; which passage

we performed in forty days. We made the islands of St. Domingo and Cuba, and were boarded by an English fifty gun ship, *Arethusa*, who sent their boat and ordered the captain and all hands on board, which was done, while they manned the schooner. After arriving on board many questions were asked us separately; where we were from, what our cargo consisted of, if we were not Englishmen, and if we should not like to enlist on board his [21] majesty's ship. Our answer being in the negative, wine was brought forward and we were invited to drink. This not answering their wishes, we were ordered below, where we remained until eight o'clock next morning; during which time we had neither wine nor food to eat. We were then called up and returned on board our schooner, their men returning and leaving us at our liberty. On examining our effects, found my chest and trunk pillaged of most of their contents. These articles were not contraband, and could not be taken by any officer, but were pillaged by the crew. We soon made the best of our way on the passage, and arrived at Montego Bay after a passage of forty days. We lay here three weeks, in which time we discharged our cargo and took in another. I had many generous offers in this place to take charge of a store, and tried every possible means to get discharged from the schooner, but to no effect; the captain observing that he could discharge no man. We then weighed anchor, and laid our course once more for the United States of America. We ran close by the port of Havana, made Turks Island, and after being out but a few days, found our meat and bread in a bad condition; sometimes so bad it could not be considered safe to eat it. This evil could not be remedied through the whole passage; this, together with bad weather, squalls and head winds, seemed sometimes as though we should never reach our

native homes: however, in about forty days we arrived in Boston bay. Within one mile of Cape Cod, about eight o'clock in the evening, I was standing on deck, with a fine southerly breeze, anticipating the pleasure we should enjoy on being in Boston the next evening, when in an instant a squall struck us a-head, which carried away our foretopmast and main boom, and left our sails in rags. Fortunately no man was hurt, although our captain was saved from being knocked overboard by catching hold of the main rigging. This squall continued only for a minute, when all was calm again. The only business now was to repair, which we so effectually did before daylight as to be able to make sail, and soon arrived in Boston harbour, greatly rejoiced at being able once more to leave old Neptune, bad beef and wormy bread, and visit my friends [22] on terra firma. I then went to Concord, Massachusetts, and made up my mind to leave the seas for the present.

Wishing to see the Western country, I made an arrangement with a gentleman to go to Detroit, Michigan Territory, and to take out his family, consisting of his wife, three children and a man-servant; which he was desirous of removing to that country. Himself having business, went on horseback several days before we started. I purchased two horses and a pleasure wagon, and proceeded to Albany² in New York, and passing through many hand-

² For a description of Albany written a few years later, see Evans's *Tour*, *post*.

Buttrick followed the Genesee Road, the well-established route to Lake Erie. In 1794 the legislature had appropriated money for the construction of a road six rods wide from old Fort Schuyler (Utica) to the Genesee River at Canawagus (Avon, twenty-seven miles south of Lake Ontario), passing the outlets of Cayuga, Seneca, and Canandaigua lakes. Being but little better than an Indian path in 1797, lotteries were authorized for its improvement. In 1799 a stage began to run over the road, and the following year it was made into a turnpike. A highway was opened the same year from the Genesee River to Buffalo, thus completing the connection between Albany and Lake Erie.—ED.

some villages, such as Utica, Bloomfield, Canandaigua,³ Batavia, &c., came to Buffalo,⁴ at the foot of Lake Erie, where we met the gentleman waiting to receive his family, which he was going to put on board of a vessel and go up the lake. But preferring myself to go by land, I crossed the Niagara river into Canada; it being but three hundred miles to Detroit on that shore, while it is four hundred on the United States shore, and a much worse road. I went to a friend's house, formerly from Concord, who lived about nine miles from this place. This friend wishing to go on the journey with me, we began to make preparations; however, as I was a stranger in that country, he

³ Old Fort Schuyler was erected upon the present site of Utica during the French and Indian War (1758), for the defense of the frontier, but was not maintained after the Treaty of Paris. The village was first settled in 1787-88, its importance dating from the construction of the Genesee or State Road. It obtained a city charter in 1832.

The site of Canandaigua, at the foot of Canandaigua Lake, was selected by Oliver Phelps and Nathaniel Gorham for the principal town of their purchase; they and a company of associates having bought from Massachusetts (1788) her pre-emption rights to land in New York — namely, to all territory west of a line drawn through Seneca Lake. The village was surveyed and opened for settlement in 1789, and the following year contained eighteen families and a hundred other persons.

Bloomfield, the location of an old Seneca village, is nine miles northwest of Canandaigua, and was surveyed and settled at the same time, chiefly by emigrants from Sheffield, Mass.—ED.

⁴ Batavia bore the same relation to the Holland Purchase that Canandaigua bore to that of Phelps and Gorham. These proprietors extinguished the Indian title to their land only as far, approximately, as the Genesee River. Being unable to pay for the remainder, they returned it to Massachusetts (March, 1791), which, two days later, resold it to Robert Morris. He, in turn, sold to a company of associates in Amsterdam (1793), and the tract became known as the Holland Purchase. The Holland Company marked off a village and opened a land office (October, 1800) at Batavia, in an unsettled wilderness fifty miles west of Canandaigua. Two years later they surveyed and placed upon the market a second village, called by them New Amsterdam, and located at the mouth of Buffalo Creek. This stream being well known on the frontier, the name was transferred to the settlement, and "New Amsterdam" never came into general use. Buffalo received a charter in 1813. See Turner, *History of the Holland Purchase* (Buffalo, 1850).—ED.

wished me to visit the Falls of Niagara, thirty-eight miles below. After notifying the before mentioned gentleman, we proceeded on and saw the stupendous work of nature, which has so often and so accurately been described by other travelers as to need no description from me.

After spending three days in this neighbourhood, we returned to my friend's house. The vessel which was to carry the gentleman's family was expecting to sail in a few days, and I intended to start as soon. But a day or two before we were ready to proceed, standing at my friend's door, we saw a gentleman riding up in great haste, who informed us that war had taken place between the United States and Great Britian. This was sorrowful news indeed to me; and my only remedy was, if possible, to make my way back into the United States. Accordingly I harnessed my horses to the waggon, and drove with all possible speed down to the ferry and called for the boat; but judge of my surprise and sorrow, when, instead of the ferryman handling their oars, I was accosted [23] by sentinels walking with their guns, who said they had strict orders to forbid any one crossing over. I stood some time looking to the opposite shore, which was about one mile, and could see the same business going on. I then returned in haste; was advised to take my horses into the woods and secrete them, which I did. Finding ourselves destitute of many articles which we wanted, such as tea, sugar, tobacco, &c., and not being able to procure them on this side, as there were no stores on the Canada side where they were kept, we resolved to make an adventure upon the other side. Accordingly when night came on, we fitted out a boat with four men with oars, and sent them to accomplish our object. They had eighteen miles to cross the lake, which was performed before daylight. The next morning, unperceived by any one ex-

cept the storekeeper, who was always ready to supply the wants of any one when he was sure of cash in return, the boat was hauled into the bushes, and the men secreted during the day. In the meantime the articles wanted were put up and at night put on board, when the boat was shoved off, and they steered their course directly back again. Owing to the darkness of the night they steered too much up the lake, and at daylight found they were about six miles from shore. They pulled very hard, but did not arrive until after sunrise. Fearing they might be discovered from Fort Erie,⁵ they carried their goods up into the bushes and hauled the boat after them, when they came up to a house a little distance from their landing, and went about their daily employment. About two hours afterwards a non-commissioned officer, whom we found to be a serjeant, and four men belonging to the cavalry, rode up to the door, armed and in British uniform, and demanded if there had been a boat across the lake to this place. The answer was no. They then dismounted, and walking in, began to search in and about the house, but found nothing. Observing their disappointment, we took pity on them, invited them in, and gave them some spirits to drink. The morning was warm, and after drinking several times, they concluded that all was as it should be, and returned to their station. I remained here several days, and began to grow quite discontented with my [24] present prospects; I therefore con-

⁵ Old Fort Erie, at the head of Niagara River, on its western bank, was built by the English in 1764. The location proving unsatisfactory, a new fort farther back from the river was begun in 1805, and completed at the outbreak of the War of 1812-15. This was captured by the Americans, July 3, 1814. Although successfully resisting the siege of the British during August following, the fort was blown up in September and the troops retired to Buffalo. It was never rebuilt.—ED.

cluded to call on General Brock,⁶ the Commander-in-chief of the Province of Upper Canada, and solicit his aid. His head-quarters were at Fort George,⁷ forty-seven miles below, near the head of Lake Ontario. The second day of July I started with a horse and gig, went to Chippewa and stayed over night. Next morning, wishing to know my fate, I proceeded on till within about one mile of the Fort, when ascending a hill, I fell in the rear of five hundred Indians, who were marching in Indian file, painted, and in their war dress. Not wishing to interrupt them at this critical time, I moved slowly after them until I had an opportunity of passing them without molestation to either party. They walked with their faces down, and paid no attention to any one. On coming on to the plain near the Fort, I discovered warlike preparations; flying artillery, cavalry and foot, not in great numbers, but exercising and preparing for an attack. The American Fort Niagara,⁸ and the English Fort George, lie nearly opposite, one mile distant from each other, and on the

⁶ General Isaac Brock, born in Guernsey in 1760, entered the English army, and after serving in Jamaica and Barbados, came to Canada in 1802. He was placed in command at Fort Niagara, and in 1811 was appointed lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada. Immediately upon the outbreak of the War of 1812-15, he ordered an attack upon Mackinac, and marched with the main body of his troops to Detroit, receiving Hull's surrender in August, 1812. Brock planned a most efficient defense of Upper Canada, but was killed in the American attack on Queenstown (October, 1812). Perhaps no English officer has been more beloved by the people of Upper Canada; several towns have been named in his honor, and a monument was erected to him on Queenstown Heights.—ED.

⁷ When the English withdrew from Fort Niagara, in accordance with the provisions of Jay's Treaty, they constructed this fort directly across the river. It was captured by the Americans (May 27, 1813), but abandoned at the end of the year. After the War of 1812-15 it was dismantled and allowed to fall into decay.—ED.

⁸ For the early history of Fort Niagara, see Long's *Voyages*, volume ii of our series, note 19.—ED.

opposite sides of the Niagara river; they were each under fearful apprehensions. I rode up to the General's house and inquired for him, and was conducted to the garden. I walked up to him and made known my business, and my anxious desire of crossing the river with my property. He politely replied, he had no objection to granting my request, provided the officers of the United States would grant the same indulgence to his Majesty's subjects; but until then he could give me no permit. After many questions, to which he received my answers, he said I should see him at Fort Erie the next forenoon, which I did, about ten o'clock. While conversing with him this morning, a cannon was discharged at Black Rock,⁹ two miles below, which at this time had become fortified by the United States; he started, and said, "I must consider you as a prisoner of war, and unless you can procure bonds of fifty thousand dollars to remain within this Province, you must immediately be committed to prison." My friend accidentally standing by at this time, passed his word for me, which was sufficient, and I was set at liberty. The cause of this discharge from the cannon, and many others which followed, was the celebration of the fourth of July, it being that day of the month.

[25] I remained under this bond seventeen days, but was allowed to go where I chose without molestation. Waggon^s were daily coming in from the back woods loaded with men, women and children, many of whom were in a very distressed situation; they begged for permission to

⁹ The Black Rock ferry across the Niagara River was in existence as early as 1796, and was much used for transporting merchandise, especially salt. It owed its name to the low black rock about a hundred feet broad, from which teams entered the ferry. Passing into the control of the state in 1802, the ferry continued to run until 1824, when the harbor was destroyed and the black rock blown up in the construction of the Erie Canal. The village of Black Rock was laid out in 1804, but grew very slowly, and in 1853 was incorporated in the city of Buffalo.—ED.

cross to the United States, many of whom were formerly from there; but instead of this request being granted, many of the men were made soldiers, and their horses taken and employed in the service of government. Bad as this may seem, yet it was far preferable to remaining in the woods among the savages, who assumed the right of plundering whatever came in their way. These people were truly in a bad situation, for they were neither safe at home, nor on the frontiers, as the soldiers were few and provisions scarce. As for my part, I was allowed to go where I pleased; and oftentimes fell in company with the officers, who treated me very politely. On the seventeenth day of my bondage, while at my lodgings, I received a line from an officer, ordering me to appear at Fort Erie; which I did. I was then conducted two miles below, to the ferry, where a boat was prepared, and I was ordered to go on board, and soon arrived on the United States' shore. When I first received this order, suspecting what would take place, took my friend aside, told him I knew that a gentleman in Buffalo had petitioned General Brock for my release, and thought it possible this would take place, and should I not return that day, he might be assured that I was at liberty; and that I wished him at night to build a large fire on the lake shore, and have my horses and carriage ready if I should call.

My object now was to get a boat sufficiently large to carry two horses and a waggon. I was told that I could obtain one by going eighteen miles up the lake. I immediately hired a horse, and went to the place, but found the boat was gone twelve miles further up. I passed on, and when I arrived there, found the boat had gone still further up, and was obliged to give over the pursuit. This being the only suitable boat in the vicinity, and not being able to obtain that, I began almost to despair of

ever getting my horses across to the United States' shore. When night came on, I could plainly discern the light [26] which my friend had kindled on the opposite shore; which was for a mark for me to steer by, had I found a boat; and although I was determined to run every risk, and venture all hazards, to cross, and get my property on board; yet I was obliged to relinquish all hope, and had the mortification to see all my attempts frustrated. I therefore returned back to Buffalo, purchased a horse and gig, and returned home to Massachusetts.

I remained at home till the third of July, eighteen hundred and fourteen, when a gentleman, who was going to Kentucky, wished me to accompany him. I took a horse and waggon, and we set out on our journey; pursuing the same route which I formerly took, to Batavia, in the western part of New York. Our intention was to go by land to Cincinnati, at the south-western part of Ohio, where we should meet the Ohio river. But falling in with a gentleman who observed that he was well acquainted with all that part of the country, and who advised us to steer southerly to the head of Alleghany river, the distance being but about forty-five miles, where we should find a pleasant water carriage the remaining part of our journey; we agreed with him, and sold him my waggon and harness, as there was no road for wheels a part of this route, purchased provision, and packed all our effects on to the horse, and set out on foot, driving our horse before us. We travelled on two days, seldom seeing any house, having very bad roads, such as by many people would be considered no road at all. We stopped at night at a log hut, found the people more friendly than intelligent; inquired how far we had come, and were informed we had travelled forty miles, and had forty miles further to go. We were greatly disappointed and mortified at our informer's

account of this route, especially as provision was very scarce both for man and beast. However, the next morning we continued on our journey till about twelve o'clock, when we stopped at a log hut. There had been several acres of land cleared, and we noticed a very tall hemlock-tree at the farther end of this clearing, and a man chopping it down. It being of an extraordinary size, we thought we would go to the root and see it fall. The man who was chopping observed, it would be some time before it [27] would fall; and my friend walked away to some little distance. I remained a few minutes, and then followed him. When I had proceeded about half of the length of the tree I heard a cracking noise, and looking back, I saw the tree coming directly upon me. There was no chance of escaping; I therefore clung my arms to me and partly sat down; the tree fell, the body touching my left shoulder, and a large limb my right. I was completely covered with the limbs and leaves, but without the slightest injury. I soon cleared myself of this uncouth situation, and looked on my narrow escape with surprise; the other two men stood motionless with fear. We soon pursued our journey; and the next day, about four o'clock in the afternoon, were overtaken by a boy, who observed he was travelling our way about one mile and a half, when he said we should come to a tavern. This was joyful news to us, as our provision was almost exhausted, and we had but few chances of renewing it. The clouds had been gathering fast, and there was an appearance of rain; in a few minutes the wind began to blow violently, the limbs of trees were falling on all sides, and large trees were blown up by the roots; we could scarcely escape the danger of one, before another presented itself. The cracking and falling of the trees was terrible, not only to the hearing, but the sight also. I jumped from

tree to tree, not knowing which way or direction was most safe. Heavy thunder, sharp lightning, and the rain falling in torrents, made the scene doubly terrible, and seemingly, nothing but death awaited us every moment. This gale continued about twenty minutes, when the wind ceased, and all was still. My first object was to find my companions and horse, if still alive. I had not seen them since the commencement of the gale. I called aloud, sometimes by name, at other times halloo, but no answer being made, this gave me reason to believe that all was lost. After renewing my calls for some time, I heard a voice and followed it; found it to [be] my companion, and soon after the little boy came up. Our next search was for the horse, which we found about one hundred yards from where we stood, standing still among the fallen trees, stripped of every thing except the bridle on his head. We made him fast, then [28] went in search of the baggage, which we found, at considerable distance from him, almost buried in the mud. Placing it on the horse's back once more, we related our danger to each other, and proceeded on our way, when we soon arrived at the tavern which the boy had mentioned.

This tavern was an old log building of about twenty feet square, and contained the landlord, his wife, and six children. Here we found some pork, a small quantity of bread, and some whiskey, but no food for our horse. This was the greatest accommodation we had found since leaving Batavia. Finding a man who was going on to the end of our land voyage, about seven miles, we left the boy, and about one hour before sunset, we pursued our course. The mud and fallen trees very much retarded our progress; but notwithstanding our wading in water, blundering over trees and stumps, &c., at ten o'clock we arrived at the Alleghany river.

The next morning we met with three soldiers who had purchased a canoe, and were bound down the river; we made an arrangement with them, paid one-half for the boat, sold my horse, and began to prepare for a trip down the river. We endeavoured to purchase provision, but could not obtain it for money. Having a blanket, I traded with a good lady for a few pounds of bread and pork. The truth is, the land about this place is so poor, the few inhabitants who are settled here have no resources only from the country, back a considerable distance; and hence they may be called real speculators on travellers, who happen to take this course for the Ohio river. Our company, now consisting of five in number, embarked on board this about three o'clock in the afternoon, and at sunset we came to a sandy beach, hauled our boat ashore, and concluded to remain here during the night. We built us a fire, cooked some provision, and encamped for the night. The weather being warm, we made but little provision against the cold; about one o'clock I awoke, and found myself very chilly. The rest being all asleep, I got up, and found I had been lying in water about two inches deep. Mustering all hands we went further up on to the shore, drawing our boat after us, built a fire, got warm and partly dried [29] when daylight appeared. Each one now taking a piece of bread in one hand and a piece of pork in the other, made a hearty breakfast; after which we took to our oars and continued on our course. The river being very low at this season of the year, made the navigation of our boat, although small, very difficult. Sometimes, for a long distance, we would row in almost still water, then coming to rapids, we were urged on with great velocity among rocks and trees, which had lodged among them. One of the soldiers being acquainted with this river, rendered our situation much safer, as he served

as our conductor; otherwise we should hardly have dared to run the venture. The log houses on this river were few in number, and from the poorness of the land, and the then existing war, the inhabitants were left destitute almost of the necessaries of life for themselves, much more so for travellers. Deer, bears, and other small game being plenty, their principal dependence was on these for sustenance. The fourth day of our voyage, in the afternoon, we discovered a house on the bank of the river. We pulled ashore, went up and requested to stay over night. Our request was granted, and we had plenty of venison, and fed to our full satisfaction. The man observed he had just killed a fine buck, and was glad to entertain all strangers. We remained here during the night, leaving what little provision we had in a knapsack on board the boat, which we hauled on the bank, thinking all would be secure. Next morning went down, and found all safe except the provision, which had been carried off in the night by some dogs, their footsteps being plainly to be seen. We mentioned this to the man of the house, who observed he was very sorry for our misfortune, especially as it must be his own dogs, he keeping a pack of hounds. There was no remedy however for this accident; we therefore made ourselves contented, he saying that he would furnish us with every thing in his power, which was but little; and for this little he was careful to charge us an exorbitant price. He however entertained us with many amusing stories of his great feats in hunting, particularly his great success in killing catamounts, which are numerous about the Alleghany mountains. He led a horse up to the door, sounded a horn, [30] and immediately the beast was surrounded by twenty or thirty dogs, barking, howling, and jumping almost into the poor animal's mouth, which stood with great patience, and seemed not to notice

them. This, said the man, is my pleasure and support, and what I would not exchange for all the luxury of an eastern city. Pleased with this history, we took to our oars, pushed on, working hard during the day, camping on the shore during the night, with short provision till the eighth day, when we came within thirty miles of Pittsburg. Being tired of these waters, we sold our boat, and proceeded on by land. Here we came to a plentiful part of the country, and the next day we arrived at Pittsburg,¹⁰ at the head of Ohio river, three hundred miles from where we first took water. We staid here one day, then parted with the three soldiers, and took passage in a keel boat bound down the river. On board of this boat we had every accommodation we could wish. Forty of the passengers, besides twelve of the boat's crew, stopped at Wheeling, a pleasant town in Virginia, and then proceeded on to Marietta, at the mouth of the Muskingum river, and so on to Cincinnati, Ohio. Here we went on board a flat-bottomed boat, and proceeded to Louisville, Kentucky, at the falls of the Ohio river, seven hundred miles below Pittsburg. I tarried at this place several days, then purchased me a horse, saddle and bridle, parted with my old friend, who had found his brother and wished to remain, started for the eastern States, passed through Frankfort, the seat of government in Kentucky, and came on to Cincinnati in Ohio.

Here I met three gentlemen who were travelling on to the head of the Alleghany river; their company was very acceptable to me, as I was a stranger through that wilderness country. The day after we commenced our journey

¹⁰ For notes on the places mentioned in this paragraph, see A. Michaux's *Travels*, volume iii of our series: Pittsburg, note 11; Wheeling, note 15; Marietta, note 16; Cuming's *Tour*, volume iv of our series: Cincinnati, note 166; Croghan's *Journals*, volume i of our series: Louisville, note 106; F. A. Michaux's *Travels*, volume iii of our series: Frankfort, note 39.—ED.

together, it began to rain, and continued raining most of the time for ten days, which made the roads extremely bad, and hard travelling. The soil being of a clayey nature, in many hollows, which, in a dry season, are perfectly dry, we now found the water quite deep, in strong currents, almost impassable for horses, and quite so with carriages. Our feet were constantly wet during the day, and our horses frequently mid-rib deep in water. [31] There being but few bridges in this quarter, and these mostly log ones, we were frequently compelled to encounter these vallies or guzzles, without bridges, full of water, and extremely difficult to pass. In some places, in low grounds, there would be log-causeways for a considerable distance, which, at this wet season, were very slippery, and rendered travelling doubly difficult and dangerous; although in a less wet time they might assist in keeping travellers out of the mud. The accommodations on the road for ourselves and horses were very good until we came to the north part of Pennsylvania. Here I was attacked with fever and ague, and was obliged to stop several days. All the company, except one man, left me, they being very anxious to arrive at their places of destination. I waited here until I was a little recruited, and then proceeded on, although very weak and feeble, both from the disorder and the medicine I had taken. The third night after our departure, we stopped at a hut, where we found provision for ourselves and food for our horses. During the night it rained very hard; the next morning we inquired of our landlord the distance to the next house, and were told it was twenty miles and a very rough road, which proved strictly true. We climbed over rocky mountains, often meeting with fallen trees, and no way of getting round them. My fellow-traveller would get off his horse and assist me in getting off mine, as I was unable to dis-

mount alone; he would then leap the horses over the trees, and then help me on again. Thus we continued ascending and descending these high hills; and, although we started very early in the morning, and were diligent during the whole day, we did not arrive at the above mentioned house until sunset, and were completely drenched in rain. We stopped, went into an old cabin, found a woman and a half a dozen children, asked permission to stay, and it was granted. There was nothing for our horses but a bunch of old straw lying out of the doors; the saddles were taken off, and the horses tied to it, where they remained all night. We then took off our coats and sat down to dry ourselves; but there was but very little difference between our present situation and out of doors. This place we named Hobson's choice, (that or none.) We then inquired of [32] the woman whether she could furnish us with a supper. She pleasantly replied she could, with such a rarity as she had not seen in the house, till that day, for three months and a half; it was some Indian meal, which she would make into pot-cakes, and which with a little butter, some pickles, and a kind of tea, which grew around her cabin, she said was good enough for any gentleman. These delicacies being ready, we sat down, and I ate extremely hearty, not having eaten or drank anything since sunrise; it was a delicious meal. The next morning we partook of the same fare, paid two dollars each, put our saddles on to our trembling, half starved horses, and bidding our hostess good bye, proceeded on our journey. On our way we stopped at a house in an Indian village belonging to the Seneca tribe,¹¹ which was improved as an inn. Here we found plenty of

¹¹ This village was probably on the Allegheny reservation — one of the ten reservations retained by the Seneca Indians when the Holland Company in 1797 extinguished their title. It lay along the Allegheny River, extending from the Pennsylvania line northeastward about twenty-five miles.— Ed.

good provisions, and food for our horses. It was a small log house, very neat inside, and the accommodations superior to any we had found on the road. They had all kinds of spirits, and, from all appearance, made but little use of them themselves; a circumstance not characteristic of these wild men of the woods. One man introduced himself as Major Obee; his manners did not appear like the rest of the Indians, and we understood the reason was, he was educated at Philadelphia. After several days more of hard travelling, we came out on the great western turnpike in New York.¹² This was a pleasant sight to us, and probably would have been to our poor animals could they have expressed their feelings; for in travelling among mud, rocks and stumps, they had scarcely any hair left on their legs. I now considered myself almost at home, although three hundred miles from it. After this nothing material happened to me; I soon travelled these three hundred miles, and safely arrived in Massachusetts the beginning of October.

In my absence, I had agreed to return again; accordingly on the third day of February, 1815, I set out, and travelled nearly the same road as before, to the head of the Alleghany river; what they call the head of navigation. This place is called Olean Point,¹³ and was much

¹² The Great Western Turnpike was the second road leading into western New York. Unlike the Genesee Road, it was built by private companies and in several sections. The First Great Western Turnpike was built from Albany to Cherry Valley in 1802. At the time of Buttrick's voyage it had been extended by the fourth Great Western Turnpike Company as far as Homer, a hundred and fifty miles from Albany. It was later continued past the head of Cayuga and Seneca lakes, and under the Lake Erie and Oil Spring Turnpike Company was completed to Lake Erie, terminating just north of the Pennsylvania boundary line.—ED.

¹³ A small settlement was begun at Olean Point in 1804. For some time its projectors expected it to become an important place on the route of Western immigration; on one occasion two thousand people are said to have collected there, while waiting for navigation to open. But with the construction of the

altered in appearance since my former visit here; instead of a few log huts as before, there were forty or [33] fifty shanties, or temporary log houses, built up, and completely filled with men, women and children, household furniture thrown up in piles; and a great number of horses, waggons, sleighs, &c., &c. These people were emigrants from the eastern States, principally from the State of Maine,¹⁴ and bound to different States down the Ohio river. Two gentlemen undertook to take a number of these people, and found it to be about twelve hundred, of all ages and sexes. They had a large number of flat-bottomed boats built for their conveyance; these were boarded up at the sides, and roofs over them, with chimneys suitable for cooking, and were secure from the weather. There were also many rafts of boards and shingles, timber and saw logs, which would find a ready market at different places on the Ohio river. There are many saw-mills on the streams above this place, where these articles are manufactured from the fine timber which grows in vast quantities in this vicinity. The river at this time had risen full bank, and I should suppose was navigable for vessels of fifty tons burden; but was frozen over to the depth of ten or twelve inches; this was the cause of so many people being assembled here at this time, as many of them had been here two months waiting an opportunity to descend the river. I waited about ten days, which brought it nearly to the close of March. On Saturday night sat up late, heard some cracking of Erie Canal, the Allegheny route to the West was abandoned and Olean lay dormant, until the development of the oil interests in southwestern New York gave it new life.—ED.

¹⁴ The hard times following the War of 1812-15 caused a great increase in immigration from New England, especially Maine. The "Ohio fever" became a well-known expression for this desire to move West, and in the years 1815-16 it deprived Maine of fifteen thousand of her inhabitants. See Chamberlain, *Maine: Her Place in History* (Augusta, 1877).—ED.

the ice, several of us observing that we should soon be on our way; went to bed. Next morning at daylight found the river nearly clear, and at eight o'clock it was completely so. The place now presented a curious sight; the men conveying their goods on board the boats and rafts, the women scolding, and children crying, some clothed, and some half clothed, all in haste, filled with anxiety, as if a few minutes were lost their passage would be lost also. By ten o'clock the whole river for one mile appeared to be one solid body of boats and rafts. What, but just before, appeared a considerable village, now remained but a few solitary huts with their occupants. Myself with the adventurers now drifted on rapidly with the current, and in six days we were in the Ohio river, and should have been much sooner had it been safe to have run in [34] the night. We found this river had risen in the same proportion as the Alleghany; and several houses at which I had stopped the July before, and which then stood thirty or forty feet above the surface of the water, were now so completely surrounded with water that we could float up to the doors; and on my arrival at Cincinnati I was told that the water had risen sixty feet above low water mark. Small boats would run just below the city, and come up in back water into the streets. Much damage was done in many places by this extraordinary freshet.

In this part of the country I remained for a considerable time, part of which I spent in this state, and part in Kentucky; but was soon attacked with fever and ague again. This complaint seemed to be quite attached to me, and no effort which I could make was sufficient to remove it while I remained on the banks of this river. I imputed the severity of this complaint to the heavy fogs which were experienced at this place; and determined to leave it, and go either to the North or South.

Having concluded on the latter, I took passage on board a boat to Shipping's Port,¹⁵ just below the Falls of the Ohio. Here I went on board a barge of eighty tons burthen, bound to New Orleans. There were but a few steam boats traversing these waters at this time, for which reason these large boats of burden were built principally for conveying merchandize up the river; although they commonly went with full freight of country produce down. They are built with two masts, and sails, which are of little service, the stream being so crooked that many times the sails are hoisted with a fair wind, and in running a few miles the bend will be so great as to bring the wind ahead. In going down we stopped at many places on the Illinois and Tennessee side. Getting into the Mississippi river, our first stop at any town was at New Madrid.¹⁶ We made the boat fast to the shore, and about twelve o'clock at night was awaked by a noise which appeared like a cable drawing over the boat's side. I started and went on deck; found all quiet. My fear was that the boat had struck adrift, and was running over a log; but on inquiry found it was an earthquake. Next morning got under way, and the water having become [35] low, the sawyers made their appearance plentifully, some several feet out of the water. These sawyers are large trees, washed from the shore, which drift down till the roots or branches, reaching the bottom, fasten into the mud and become as firm as when standing in the forest. Should a boat be so unfortunate as to strike one of these, it would in all probability prove fatal; therefore every precaution is neces-

¹⁵ For the early history of Shippingsport, see Cuming's *Tour*, volume iv of our series, note 171.—ED.

¹⁶ A brief account of New Madrid may be found in Cuming's *Tour*, vol. iv of our series, note 185.

For a description of an earthquake on the Mississippi River, see Bradbury's *Travels*, vol. v of our series, pp. 204-210.—ED.

sary to avoid them. We had run but a few days when our boat rubbed on one of these logs, which lay so far under water as to escape our notice. Coming to the rudder, it lifted it from its hinges, and took it overboard. We immediately pulled for the shore, made fast, and sent the boat in search of it; luckily about one mile below we found it and returned. We then proceeded on, and in two days after the same accident occurred again. Diligent search was made, but without effect. We then went on shore, cut down a small tree, and made a steering oar, about sixty feet long. The stern of the boat was so high, it was with difficulty this could be managed. In turning round points of land, we had many narrow escapes. Our usual custom was to get to the shore and make fast before night. At one time we concluded to drop anchor in the river, which we did; and next morning attempting to raise it, found it fast below. After working till ten o'clock, found there was no possibility of raising it, and cut away. This was unfortunate for us, as we had formerly occasion for it, and more so afterwards. Several nights on this trip, we made fast to the shore near the cane brakes. These grow here very thick, and many miles in extent; at this season of the year they are dry; when setting fire to them they will crack, making a noise like soldiers' musketry; which caused great amusement for the passengers and crew. We arrived at Natchez,¹⁷ Mississippi, and stopped there a part of two days. Immediately on leaving the place, found we had left one man on shore. We hailed a man standing there, and requested him to bring this man on board, who had just come in sight. They jumped into a boat, and when come within two hundred yards of us the man fell overboard, which was the last we saw of him.

¹⁷ For the early history of Natchez, consult F. A. Michaux's *Travels*, vol. iii of our series, note 53.—ED.

[36] The river now becoming much straiter than we had found it before for three hundred miles, made the trip easier and safer, and on the eighth day of January, 1817, we arrived at New Orleans.

During my stay I remained the principal part of the time on board this barge. The weather some part of the time was cool, and three nights the ground froze quite hard. Oranges and other fruits froze on the trees. By accounts from Natchez we learned that the snow had fallen six inches deep; a circumstance never known before by the oldest person resident there.

The poor negroes, I was informed, suffered much, and many of them died. Having tarried till my business was closed, I determined to return by land; and finding a number of persons, who were going on the same route, I provided myself with a knapsack, a blanket, a tin quart pot and necessary provisions, and on the 23d day of February shouldered my knapsack and set out on my journey. I travelled three miles to the northward to Lake Pontchartrain;¹⁸ there found a vessel in the afternoon ready to cross the lake, being about thirty miles. The wind being light, the next day at twelve o'clock we met the opposite shore; went to a tavern, took dinner, and found eight men travelling the same way, mostly strangers to each other, and but one who had travelled the road before. After collecting our forces, we went on, and travelled about fifteen miles that afternoon. The country being flat, we had to wade in water and mud a considerable part of the way, and in many places knee deep. This we found to be attended with bad consequences, as many of us took cold thereby. At night we stopped at a small house, the occupants of which gave us leave to sleep on

¹⁸ Lake Pontchartrain was discovered by Iberville on his exploring expedition in 1699, and named in honor of Count Pontchartrain, chancellor of France under Louis XIV.—ED.

the floor. We wrapped our blankets around us, with our wet clothes on, placed our feet to the fire, and so remained through the night.

The next morning our joints were so stiff we were hardly able to walk; yet we travelled on about two hours, when we stopped by the way-side, struck up a fire, cooked some victuals, refreshed ourselves, and marched on; the same we did several times during the day; and at night found we had gained forty miles. We again refreshed ourselves with food, and went to our repose [37] for the night, it being the custom among these travellers to start very early, as much as two hours before day. Not being accustomed to this way of travelling, myself as well as several more wished to alter this course, and wait till a later hour for starting; but the major part refused our proposal, saying they wanted to get home as quick as possible.

No one wishing to be left alone, in the morning we all followed our leader; and went fifteen miles without refreshment of any kind. My feet had now become very sore in consequence of travelling through mud and water, and I was much exhausted with fatigue. We stopped, I ate and drank with the rest of my comrades, but felt quite unwell. After sitting half an hour, felt unable to travel; they endeavored to encourage me, but I found it impossible to keep pace with them. I was sorry to be left alone, nevertheless observed to them, I did not wish to detain any one, and requested them to pursue their journey. I got from them all the information possible for the journey, bid them farewell, and we parted. At this time I was only one hundred miles from New Orleans, and nine hundred miles to complete my journey to the Ohio river, and to add to my misfortune, five hundred of this lay through an Indian country, with but few white men on the road, and their friendship not to be relied on so much as the natives.

When my companions left me, I was at a very friendly man's house, who condoled my misfortune. Here I tarried about three hours, when, having determined to pursue my journey, I took leave of these friendly people, and commenced my lonely journey, moving but slowly along; and soon found I had entered the boundaries of the Choctaw nation.¹⁹ I had no difficulty in finding the way, as a few years before this, a road had been cut through the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations to the Tennessee river;²⁰ and as young trees and brush had grown up in this road, the trees were marked to assist the traveller. By strictly observing these marked trees I felt secure, and proceeded slowly along, sometimes ten, and sometimes fifteen miles in a day.

At night I generally found an Indian hut, where they [38] would receive me very friendly in their way, and throw down skins for me to sleep on.

Seven days had now elapsed, and my health not in the least recruited, when, as I was walking on very deliberately, thinking of the decrease of my provision, and the distance I had yet to travel, I was overtaken by a white man, who asked me from whence I came, and where bound, at the same time observing that I looked sick, which probably must be the cause of my being alone; I answered it was. He then said, "I live but one mile from this, go with me." I did so, and found his wife and several children in a small log hut, by whom I was received very kindly.

This favor could not have come more opportunely, as I was both fatigued and sick. This man was from North

¹⁹ For the Choctaw Indians, see Cuming's *Tour*, volume iv of our series, note 187.—ED.

²⁰ This road extended from Columbia, Tennessee, forty-five miles southwest of Nashville to Madisonville, Louisiana, two miles north of Lake Pontchartrain. It was begun under the direction of the war department (March, 1816), and was one of three roads constructed about that time by United States troops.—ED.

Carolina; and his motive for thus exiling himself and family to this part of the country was not my business to inquire; I have only to say, that they look suspicious. With this family I remained two days, and no brother, who had been long absent, could have been treated with more kindness and affection.

I gave him a narrative of my life, which he and the family listened to with great attention; he also narrated his great adventures in hunting.

The principal food which this cabin afforded, was dried venison and bread; the venison, for want of salt to preserve it, is cut in slices, dried and smoked, which makes what they call jerk.

I now felt myself able to travel, and concluded to proceed on. He furnished me with as much of this meat as I could carry, and after ascertaining that it was twenty-five miles to the next house, I took an affectionate farewell of this friendly man and family, and with my renewed strength, and supply of provisions, hastily travelled on until about twelve o'clock, hardly remembering I was weak; but becoming somewhat faint for want of food, I sat down, took some refreshment, and then travelled on again, till I arrived at an Indian village, where I found two squaws, all the rest having left; for what purpose I know not; probably for a frolic. I here obtained a pint of sour milk, which proved an excellent [39] cordial to me at this time. I inquired for a place of entertainment, and found, by their holding up four fingers, that it was four miles. This I quickly travelled, and found a neat Indian hut, where I found the privilege of staying by myself, without interruption from the family, who resided in an adjoining one. Salt provision and bread was what I now wanted, but neither of them could be procured; if I except some corn pounded up, mixed with water, and baked on a stone

by the fire. In travelling on several days, I came to the line between the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations,²¹ where I saw a large hewn log house and went in. The room was neat, and, as is usual, contained no furniture, except a table, nor any person, except a squaw and a few children. I walked into another apartment, and after staying some time, two white men came in and sat down, but appeared to have no wish for conversation with me. I endeavored to make some inquiries of them, but found they declined any answer. A dish of victuals was brought in and set on the table, which apparently consisted of minced meat and vegetables. I was very hungry, and the sight of this food was delightful. They sat down; I asked permission to partake with them; the answer was no. I stated my hungry situation, and observed that no reasonable compensation should be wanted; the answer was again no. I then got up and walked away, wondering within myself what could be the cause of these unfeeling creatures being here; probably for no good. I faintly travelled on until about three o'clock in the afternoon, when I came to an Indian hut, went round to the back part, there being no door in front, saw two Indians sitting on a platform of hewn logs, and endeavored to make some inquiries, but could not be understood. Thinking of the contents of my knapsack, which contained a little jerk and fat pork, without bread or salt, my stomach too weak to receive these, and I knew of nothing else I could obtain. At this moment a boy came out of a small hut a few paces distant, bringing a large wooden bowl full of boiled corn, and setting it down, they three placed themselves around it. I, knowing the Indian custom to distribute a part of what

²¹ Beginning with the Mississippi River at 34° 30', this boundary was an artificial line drawn southeast to Noosacheahn Creek, thence following that creek to the Tombigbee River.—ED.

they had to strangers, ventured up and formed one of the circle. A large horn [40] spoon, perhaps three times the size of a common table spoon, was placed on the corn, which the oldest Indian filled and put into his mouth; the second one did the same, then I followed, and so it went round. When we had continued so a few minutes, a tall well dressed Indian came out of the door, looked upon us all, but viewed me very attentively; he then went back and closed the door, but immediately returned bringing with him a cake made of pounded corn and baked, about the size of a large cracker, but much thicker; this he put into my hand, and then stepped back with his eyes fixed on me. I divided it into four parts, and gave each of my messmates a part. He smiled and went again into the house, and left us to finish our repast. Never had I more reason for gratitude than at this time, and I think I did feel thankful that their hearts were open to my necessities. After we had done eating, one of the Indians took the bowl and carried it back, the others followed, leaving me alone. From the appearance of these Indians, I supposed they might be servants or laborers for the Indian who brought me the cake, who I soon found was a chief; for when they were gone, this chief came out again to me, dressed in great style, with silver bands around his arms, a large silver plate on his breast, moccasins and leggings elegantly worked in Indian fashion, a handsome hat filled with plumes, with rows of beads around it, and other ornaments; a horse was led up to a stake, a genteel saddle and bridle was put on him, and in every respect the horse appeared fit for any gentleman to ride upon. The chief looked on himself, then on the horse, then on me; and I, wishing to gratify him, expressed my surprise and gratification as well as I could both in my looks and actions. This pleased him well; he soon spoke a few words of

English, and handed me a bundle of papers. On examining them, I found them to be bills of goods to a considerable amount purchased at New Orleans. On looking over these bills, I found they contained a number of articles which he then had on; pointing to the charges and then to the articles, I expressed great surprise at the riches which he wore. All this exalted me much in his esteem, and we continued thus a considerable time. He then led me into the room where [41] his wife and children were, gave me a glass of good old whiskey, conducted me into another neat apartment, spread a handsome grass carpet on the floor, and, by signs, bid me welcome to stay all night. In the same manner, by signs, he informed me that he was going off, and bowing, left the room. I saw him no more; probably he was going to attend an Indian council. Being refreshed with food, and it drawing towards night, I laid down on the carpet, covered myself with my blanket, and quietly reposed until two o'clock in the morning, when I awoke, carefully got up, shouldered my pack and left this hospitable mansion. Being finely refreshed and feeling new vigor, I travelled on easily till the sun was up a short distance; when coming to a house, found a white woman and her daughter. I called for breakfast, and was well supplied with bread, meat, tea, &c., and some to carry with me on my journey. From the hospitable treatment I had received at the two last houses, I began to think that the worst of my journey was over, and at eight o'clock I proceeded on about two miles, when I met three squaws with large packs, who appeared to be in great haste, and took no notice of me; which gave me reason to suspect some trouble a-head. One or two miles further on heard a whooping and yelling, and presently saw an Indian running to meet me. He walked very fast, bare foot and barelegged, without any clothes but his

shirt, and that very bloody, looking as though he had been engaged in some severe conflict. When he came up he seized me by the shoulder and held me fast, and kept his continual whooping and yelling, which almost stunned me. He was very drunk, and kept reeling backward and forward, which occasioned me to do the same, as his nervous arm made such a grip on my shoulder it was impossible for me to extricate myself. Sometimes he would bear me to the ground, and most of his weight would be upon me. Trying to give signs that I was sick, he laughed; I then called him *bobashela*, which is their word for brother; this pleased him, and having a bottle of whiskey in his other hand, he put it to my mouth saying *good*. I opened my mouth, and he thrust the neck of the bottle seemingly down my throat, the whiskey ran out, and strangled me badly, and [42] when I sat to coughing and choking, he burst out into a loud laugh and let go of my shoulders. He was a stout, tall man, had a long knife by his side, and put his hand several times on it, but exhibited no appearance of injuring me; yet, from his drunken situation, I thought I had considerable to fear. I repeated the word brother several times, when he looked sharp at me a few moments, and uttering a loud scream, left me to pursue my way, happy that the word *bobashela* had been my protection. About half an hour after this, coming round a large bend in the road, I saw twenty or thirty Indians, men, squaws and papooses, all formed in a circle. On coming up with them, I endeavored to pass, but one caught me by my pack and pulled me partly into the ring; another pulled, and another, seemingly half a dozen pulling different ways, talking, laughing, whooping, and hallooing, and I in the midst, without means of defence or chance of escape. I endeavored to make signs of sickness, but to no effect; soon a tall, old Indian stepped up and spoke

to them; they all let go of me. I turned to this Indian and made signs of sickness, by putting my hand on my breast, &c., which he noticed, and seemingly with pity; he was the only sober one among them. They now began a second attack upon me; he spoke again and they left me. He now made a motion for me to go on, which I did, and having proceeded a few yards, I turned my head partly round and perceived a young Indian with a glass bottle in his hand just in the act of striking me on the head. I looked him full in the face; he lowered his bottle, and sitting partly down, laughed; he then returned to his comrades. I travelled on as fast as possible till I lost sight of them, when getting about half a mile, I came to a stream of water which crossed the road. It was narrow, and the current swift; a tree was fallen across, on the body of which I passed over. Stopping for a moment, I heard the yell of an Indian, and the footsteps of a horse in full speed; fearing it might be some of the gang I had just left, I stepped into the bushes and secreted myself behind a tree. In this situation I could see a person who passed without being discovered myself. Scarcely had I placed myself behind the tree when an Indian rode up to the stream on full speed with a [43] rifle on his shoulder; coming to the stream of water, his horse stopped and refused to proceed; he made several attempts to cross, but the horse refused, wheeling about and endeavoring to return. The Indian finding that he could not make the horse cross, sat still, looking up and down in every direction for a considerable time, when, perceiving no person, and not descrying the object of his pursuit, he wheeled about and returned. This was the same young Indian who pursued me with the bottle, and who, had he been fortunate enough to have discovered me, would immediately have ended my life with his rifle.

After some time, I ventured out from behind the tree, and in great haste pursued my journey, often looking back, fearing that this or some other Indian might be in pursuit of me. I passed a number of cabins without stopping and without refreshment till after sunset, when I saw a squaw standing at a cabin door. I asked permission to stay. She made signs by holding up two fingers, that in two miles I should find a place to stop at. I went on — it soon became dark — I saw a bright light shining between the logs of a cabin. On going up to the door I saw a number of squaws sitting round the room silent, as though something serious had taken place. I made motions for staying all night, when one, who appeared to be head of the number, shook her head and pointed to another room, there being two rooms under this roof. I immediately heard surly noises and clashing of knives, the squaw appeared very anxious, and shaking her head, made signs for me to be off. I hesitated for a moment, but soon found that the room was filled with drunken Indians, which occasioned me to wait for no further invitation to depart. The squaws all looking earnestly at each other convinced me of my danger, and I stepped nimbly to the door and proceeded on. Walking about half a mile, I came to a low swampy piece of ground, and it being extremely dark, I could not tell what direction to take; and being much fatigued with travelling, and faint for want of food, having taken nothing through the day, I sat down on an old stump in mud almost knee deep, and should have fallen asleep had it not been for the fear of chilling to death, or being massacred by the Indians, which I certainly should if they had happened to have come that way. After ruminating for some time [44] on my perilous situation, I faintly rose up, travelled on perhaps for a mile, when fortunately I saw another light, and following it

came up to another cabin. I knocked, and an old Indian opened the door. I stepped in — made signs to stay all night — he shook his head, pointed to the cabin I had just left, and said, *Indian, whiskey*, making motions that the Indians that belonged there would soon be at home, and I should be in danger should they return and find me at their cabin. This signified nothing to me, as I was totally unable to proceed any further. I therefore threw down my bundle, and this poor old Indian expressed great friendship and fear for my safety. He threw down some deerskins which they used for beds, and I laid down with my bundle under my head, without removing any of my clothing. I had a wish to keep awake, but it was impossible, and I soon fell asleep; so much was I overcome with fatigue and fasting. I awoke in about two hours; found this old friend sitting up as if to guard me; we looked at each other wistfully, and in a few minutes I fell asleep again. About two hours before daylight, the Indian pulling me by the arm, awoke me, when at a little distance from the cabin I heard Indians whooping, bells rattling, and horses in considerable numbers coming with the utmost rapidity and haste. This was a horrid sound at this dead hour of the night, when all before had been silent. I jumped up as quick as possible, and the old Indian handing me my bundle, stepped to the door and was just opening it, when they approached so near I stepped back, and both stood trembling with fear. Fortunately for us they passed by, nor was it long from our hearing them on one side before they had passed out of hearing on the other. On opening the door, it was so extremely dark, I could perceive no object; I went back and sat down before the fire on a block, not wishing to sleep any more; while the poor Indian walked back and forth in the cabin. Within one hour the same noise of whooping, yelling, horses run-

ning, &c., was heard. I caught my bundle, slipped out at the door, walked hastily about fifty yards, stepped into the bushes and sat down. In a few moments four or five Indians rode up to the door and dismounted. When I had seen the last of them go in and close the door, I ventured on my old track again; not without listening [45] attentively at the least noise, fearing they might be in pursuit of me. Travelling on as fast as my trembling limbs would permit, until nearly sunrise, I saw a large log house on the right-hand side of the way, and hoped to find some friendly aid at this place; but on arriving near the place, I observed on the left-hand side, a number of large trees fallen and burnt, except the bodies and large limbs; among these were ten or twelve Indians, some sitting but most of them lying down, being intoxicated. These wretched creatures had been using their knives upon each other till their heads and arms were completely mangled, and were covered with blood from head to foot. This, with the addition of crock from the burnt trees, caused them to exhibit a scene of horror which I cannot describe. I passed them without even turning my head, leaving them to suppose I did not notice them. It now began to rain very hard; I travelled on till about nine o'clock, when I saw a hut a-head, and coming within about three hundred yards, three white men came out to meet me. When we met they appeared very glad to see me, as they had heard of me several times before. I learned that they were from Natchez, and bound to the state of Indiana, on the same road I was travelling, and would keep me company through the remaining part of this wilderness. It is probable these two men passed me two days before, while I was at my friend's the Indian chief.

The landlord here was a white man who had married a squaw, which enabled him to reside in peace among them.

I conversed with him respecting his happy situation; of the plenty of every comfort of life that appeared around him, free from the noise and bustle of cities and other populous places, money constantly coming in, with little or no expenditure, &c., &c. He made some reply; the tears started in his eyes, and the discourse dropped. We tarried here until the next forenoon, in which time I washed and dried my clothes, procured provisions of our landlord, and made preparations for our departure. We left this abode of plenty, after a stay of twenty-four hours, being finely refreshed with the abundance of everything which is necessary for the support of man. Nothing extraordinary happened to us on the way; the Indians appeared [46] friendly, and provisions generally procured with ease, and thus we passed on till we arrived on the banks of the Tennessee river, at a house kept by an Indian by the name of Tallbot. This man was said to be very rich, in land, cattle and negro slaves, and also to have large sums of money in the bank. He had but one daughter, and I was told that many white men had attempted to gain this prize. But the old man suspecting their affections to be placed on the money rather than the daughter, advised her to remain single a little longer.

It has often been remarked, and I believe truly, of the Chickasaw and Choctaw Indians,²² that they are very hospitable to the white people who traverse their country; and I have never heard of a life being taken or an insult given, when they were free from ardent spirits; but like all other Indians, when intoxicated they are savage, cruel and fearless. But even then, they oftenest take revenge on their own countrymen, relatives and friends, who happen to

²² For further information on the customs of the Chickasaw and Choctaw Indians, consult Adair, *American Indians* (London, 1775); Pickett, *History of Alabama* (Charleston, 1851).—ED.

offend them. Before they enter on any business of importance, such as agriculture, or a hunting or fishing expedition, they despatch several of their men to a considerable distance, to procure a quantity of ardent spirits. This is brought on horses, in kegs of their own manufacturing, and carried to such places as they appoint, where it is deposited until the time appointed for their meeting arrives. And it is remarkable that although their thirst for rum is so great, yet this deposite is entirely safe, right in the sight of every one, and no fears are entertained of its being meddled with until the time appointed. When this time arrives they assemble and commence their operations; singing, dancing, drinking, &c. They always select one or more to keep sober, who sit quietly by themselves, watching the rest, and who taste not a drop themselves till the frolic is over, even if it should continue three or four days and nights, as it sometimes does, but which time it seldom or never exceeds. This being over, the Indian or Indians who have performed this duty take their turn, and in the same way take their fill, without interruption.

Crimes committed in a state of intoxication are generally forgiven, not even excepting murder; but if otherwise committed they are punished with the greatest severity. [47] Their barbarous customs, however, are fast wearing away, since our missionaries, schoolmasters, &c., are sent among them.

They seem to have some sense of religious worship, as at several times, when passing their cabins, I have seen them sitting or kneeling in different postures, at which time they will remain fixed in their position without even turning their heads, let what will come. This ceremony they perform after losing a near relative, but how long they continue in this posture I know not. Once or twice

I saw four poles stuck in the ground, with forked ends up, and sticks laid across at little distances, on which was a large roll of bark. On inquiry I was told that in this bark was the remains of a deceased person, who, after remaining there the accustomed time, would be taken down and buried.

They are very affectionate to each other, especially to their children, whom they treat with great kindness and attention. We arrived at Mr. Tallbot's late in the evening, and tarried there till next morning, when we crossed the river, about one mile, and landed in the state of Tennessee. This gave us fresh hopes of finishing our journey among civilized people. We travelled about nine miles, and came to a house where we changed our clothes and refreshed ourselves. I disposed of my blanket, cooking utensils, &c., which I had prepared for my journey through the wilderness, and moved on with a small bundle in my hand, which enabled me to travel very easily, being freed from my former load. I kept company with my companions two days, when they were to leave my road. We bade each other farewell, and I was once more left alone. I pursued on, and came to a village where was a large three story brick tavern; they appeared like New England people. Thinking I should here find what I had long been wishing for, salt provision, I waited till dinner was ready, and to my joy I saw a large dish of salt beef and vegetables placed on the table. In company with a number of gentlemen, I sat down and feasted my appetite till the last man rose from the table. Although I had eaten twice or three times the quantity of food I had been accustomed to, yet I was not satisfied; and at supper I renewed my hold on the salt [48] beef, to the neglect of pies, cakes, &c. I went to bed fully satisfied, but awoke about midnight in most distressing pain, and almost famishing with

thirst. I got up, went down stairs in search of some person, but could find none. I then opened the outside door, and the rain was pouring down in torrents. I saw an old tub standing under the eaves, full of water. I ventured out, put my mouth to the tub and drank several times; I then waited a few minutes, drank again, and went in. All this did not satisfy my thirst; but as I was very wet, being but partly dressed, I went to my bed, shivering with cold, and after getting a little warm, fell asleep. I awoke in about two hours, in much the same situation as at first, went to the old tub again, and drank with the same eagerness. I then went back to my bed scarcely able to crawl, and passed the remainder of the night in a sleepless and distressed condition. Early in the morning, hearing some of the family up, I went down, sat by the fire, and seemed to myself but little more than alive. Breakfast being called, I had no appetite, and waiting till eleven o'clock I sat out on my way, and pursued on as well as I could till about sunset, when I had gained eight miles, and came to a planter's house, who invited me to stay with him all night, which invitation I accepted. But nothing could I eat till the next day, and continued travelling in this situation four or five days, when my appetite began to return, and I recovered my strength fast, so that in a few days I was able to travel my usual distance. Passing through a number of fine villages and towns, the largest of which was Nashville, I arrived at Lexington,²⁸ Kentucky, where I found people very friendly, and willing to assist the weary traveller on all occasions. From thence I pursued on my course till I arrived at the Ohio river, and crossed over into Cincinnati, in the afternoon of the forty-seventh day from my leaving New Orleans; having performed a jour-

²⁸ A brief account of Nashville and Lexington may be found in A. Michaux's *Travels*, vol. iii of our series, notes 28, 103.—ED.

ney of one thousand miles only. The next morning I walked out in the streets, and met one of my first companions with whom I started from New Orleans. He lived a few miles above, on the Kentucky side of the river. He informed me he had been at home twenty-two days, and told me that the third day after we parted another man stopped, and the fifth day [49] two more, and before he was three fourths of the way through his journey, there was only himself and one other left. Some from being lame, and others sick, and what has become of them, said he, I know not; you are the only one I have seen or heard from.

I remained at this place a few days, and then went out about ten miles to a town called Madison.²⁴ It being now the month of April, and fearing my old complaint, the fever and ague, I resolved to quit the Ohio river, and go out to Detroit in the Michigan territory. A gentleman from that place was soon expected here for his family, who at this time resided in this neighborhood. The lady hearing of my determination, called on me, and wished me to stay there till her husband's return, and then accompany them to Detroit. This was a pleasant thing to me as I was wholly unacquainted with the road through that country. The gentleman did not return until the first of August, when he arrived with a waggon and horses, and after suitable preparations were made, he took his wife and children with some light baggage, and we commenced our journey.

We found the roads very rough for about eighty miles, when we came on to the prairie grounds. We had laid in a good stock of provisions, knowing that in consequence of

²⁴ Madison, on the Ohio River fifty miles above Louisville and the county-seat of Jefferson County, Indiana, was settled in 1808. A description of its appearance in 1816 states that it contained three or four brick houses, twenty frame houses, and about a hundred cabins.— ED.

the late war the country was nearly drained. We now came to where the water was very bad, the country being flat and the water stagnant. After straining it would still exhibit live insects, which they call wiggles. The inhabitants were few and scattering, but the soil remarkably good, the grass growing five or six feet high, interspersed with flowers of all colors, which gave it a delightful appearance. It is thought by many that this part of the country was once overflowed with water, and what adds to the probability is the number of little hills or rises of land, covered with trees, standing in these prairie grounds, like so many islands, as probably they once were. Great numbers of cattle are drove from Kentucky and elsewhere to feed on these grounds, and soon become very fat. We camped out two nights, and by forming tents with blankets made ourselves very comfortable, and slept without any apprehension, except from the prairie rattlesnake, a small but very poisonous reptile, [50] frequently to be seen in those parts. After a slow but safe journey, we arrived at Lower Sandusky,²⁵ two hundred miles on our way. Here we sent our horses on by the mail carrier, went on board of a vessel at the foot of the Sandusky Rapids, so called, and went down the Sandusky river to the Lower Sandusky bay, to a small town called Venice.²⁶ At this place but two years before, not a tree had been fallen; now, between twenty and thirty log houses

²⁵ Lower Sandusky, at the head of navigation of the Sandusky River, was until Wayne's victory at Fallen Timbers, an important Wyandot village. A fort was built there during the War of 1812-15, for the history of which see Evans's *Tour*, *post*, note 52. From the close of the war the growth of settlement was continuous. About 1850 the name of the town was changed to Fremont, in honor of the Rocky Mountain explorer.—ED.

²⁶ This village was laid out in 1816 at the mouth of Cold Creek, three miles west of Sandusky City. It developed but slowly, owing to the unhealthfulness of the climate; see Flint's *Letters*, vol. ix of our series. Flour mills were constructed in 1833, and it became a centre for the industry in Ohio.—ED.

are built, two large framed store houses, and two wharves for the accommodation of the back country traders. Vessels of considerable size come up lake Erie and deposite their loading here, being but six miles from the lake. The next day after our arrival, president Monroe, with a number of distinguished officers, stopped here, on his tour through the Western country.²⁷ We stayed here two days, when we hired a man to carry us across the lake in a boat. We laid in but a small quantity of provision as the distance was but seventy miles, and with a fair wind could run it in less than a day. We set sail at noon with a fair breeze, and ran up the lake about twenty miles, keeping near the shore. About an hour before sunset it became calm, and not wishing to be exposed on the open lake in the night, we ran into a creek a short distance and made our boat fast to a stake, which had been set there by some one before us. We found there another boat with two men encamped on a pleasant beach. The gentleman with his family and pilot went on shore and encamped also. I chose to remain on board. They formed now a considerable company, four men, one woman and three children. They built up a large fire, got supper, prepared camps for the night, and laid down in quietude, expecting a quiet night's rest. But the clouds gathered up fast, and between eight and nine o'clock the wind blew violently, and they gathered up their blankets and clothing and tried to get on board the boat, but she lay so far from shore that with all my assistance they could not accomplish their object. The fire had all blown away and not a spark left.

²⁷ President Monroe made two tours. On the first, lasting from May to the middle of September, 1817, he visited the New England States, journeyed thence through New York to Niagara, west to Detroit, and returned to Washington via Zanesville and Pittsburg. On the second, undertaken in 1819, he went as far south as Augusta, Georgia, passed through the Cherokee region to Nashville, and thence to Louisville and Lexington.—ED.

The night was dark, and the rain poured down in torrents; there was no shelter, not even a tree to defend them from the tempest. The three men took each of them a child, wrapped it in a blanket, [51] and sat down upon such clothing or bedding as came nearest to hand. The other man and the woman were obliged to sit without anything but their clothing. I often called to them from the boat, but the howling of the tempest prevented me from being heard. In this situation they all remained about eight hours till daylight, when it ceased to rain, but the wind continued to blow very hard. I then moved the stern of the boat round and got on shore; but the sight of these weather-beaten objects presented a spectacle I cannot describe. The children, however, had been kept considerably comfortable through the night. The woman acknowledged she was alive, and that was all that could be said of her; the men appeared much better than I should have supposed. As for myself, I was comfortably situated, and should have slept well had it not been for the anxiety I felt for my unhappy fellow-travellers on shore. The lake now appeared more like the Atlantic than like an inland navigation, the waves running so high that it was impossible for us to venture out; and the high grass and a few bushes at a little distance promising some assistance in sheltering us from the storm, we evacuated the old post and retired to them for shelter, where with the help of our blankets and other things we contrived so to break the wind as to enable us to kindle up a fire sufficient to warm and dry ourselves. We then prepared the remainder of our scanty food, which was sufficient for a meal after reserving a part of it for the woman and her children. We remained here through the day and night, the wind still blowing a gale. The next morning very early, three men went in search of provisions, and did not return till three

o'clock in the afternoon. They had travelled all that time and found but one house, where they obtained three small loaves of bread, which were enough for the woman and children only. The wind had now ceased to blow, and the lake was nearly smooth; and after feeding the children we put our things on board, and made up the lake shore. At sunset judging ourselves about thirty miles from Detroit, we ventured out on the open lake with our oars only to move us a-head; we rowed all night, and at daylight discovered the town of Malden²⁸ about six miles directly a-head, on the [52] Canada shore; and a little breeze springing up, we hoisted sail, and a little after sunrise landed half a mile below the town. We went up, found a market, purchased fresh beef, bread, &c., and had a fine breakfast; it having been forty-eight hours since we had eaten any thing before. We now had eighteen miles to stem a strong current with our oars only, before reaching Detroit. At ten o'clock we moved on, and after having labored hard till two o'clock in the morning, we made up to the city of Detroit,²⁹ and went to a tavern, the landlord of which had formerly been an acquaintance of ours. He, by some means or other, had heard of our being on the lake in the blow I have mentioned; himself and several others manned a vessel and went in pursuit of us; but after making every possible search in vain, he returned, supposing we must have been lost; but was most agreeably surprised when he saw us under his own roof.

I remained here a few days, and then embarked on

²⁸ Fort Malden, or Amherstburg, on the Canadian shore sixteen miles south of Detroit, was established by the British in 1798, soon after they had evacuated Detroit in accordance with the terms of Jay's Treaty. During the War of 1812-15, it was occupied by General Proctor until Perry's naval victory (September, 1813) compelled him to retreat. Before leaving, he set fire to the fort and it was not rebuilt until 1839.—ED.

²⁹ For the early history of Detroit, see Croghan's *Journals*, vol. i of our series, note 18.—ED.

board a vessel, and went down the lake in search of the property I had left in the neighborhood of Fort Erie, Upper Canada, at the commencement of the late war, as I have before mentioned. I arrived at Buffalo, and inquired for the two gentlemen with whom I had left my business, and found they were both dead. I then crossed over the river, and went to my old friend's house, and to my surprise found he was dead also. His unhappy widow informed me that soon after my departure he was arrested by order of the British government, and committed to prison, which was the last account she had of him; but supposed that he made his escape, and either fell into the hands of the Indians, or that in attempting to cross the lake was drowned. The person who last had charge of my property was an American born, but had become a British subject; he took an active part in the late war against his own countrymen, and still persisted in so doing; and totally refused to pay my demand. The persons with whom I conversed on the subject, advised me to let it remain as it was; observing that although the two governments were now at peace, yet a personal envy still existed between individuals of the two nations, if not between the governments; and as [53] the Court of King's Bench was now closing its session, and would not sit again until a year from that time, there could be no action tried for a long time. This discouraged me and I gave it up, purchased a horse, saddle and bridle, and returned by land through this Upper Province to Detroit. On my journey back to Detroit, I was most sensibly struck with the devastations which had been made by the late war: beautiful farms, formerly in high cultivation, now laid waste; houses entirely evacuated and forsaken; provision of all kinds very scarce; and where once peace and plenty abounded, poverty and destruction now stalked over the land. I

returned to Detroit, where I remained the most of my time till the fall of eighteen hundred and eighteen; when not yet satisfied with roving about, I started, in November, in company with another man, for the central part of Ohio. The roads at this season of the year were very bad through the Michigan Territory, which we were now travelling. We passed over the battle ground of Frenchtown and river Raisin;³⁰ to the river forty miles; thence to Maumee rapids, forty miles; our nearest way now to go to Sandusky river was thirty-five miles. On this last route we had no road; the only guide for the traveller was marked trees.³¹ The first morning missed our way, got lost in the wilderness, and wandered about till three o'clock in the afternoon, when we came to the old marked trees; we walked on until sunset, when we were obliged to halt; struck up a fire, broiled some pork, on the end of a stick, and with some bread refreshed ourselves; but without drink, as there was no water fit for use. We laid ourselves down by the body of an old tree, and partly got to sleep, but were aroused from our slumbers by the horrid howling of a wolf, who had walked up close to our backs. My companion was in great fear, and would have run had I not stated to him the danger of leaving the fire. He stopped, jumped up and down, hallooing with all his might. Not being much acquainted with these animals, he considered his situation very dangerous. After some time I persuaded him to lie down again, but it was not long before the sound redoubled on our ears; his fears became greater than before, as he found there was no retreat. I laid down myself, [54] but could not possibly persuade him and he remained in motion, and sometimes

³⁰ An account of these battles is given in Evans's *Tour*, *post*, note 63.—ED.

³¹ Buttrick was now in the Black Swamp; for a description of which, see Evans's *Tour*, *post*.—ED.

with yells which almost equalled the wolves, through the night. Early in the morning we collected our things and moved on; about nine o'clock came to a running stream of water; this was a delicious treat to us, although I drank heartily several times before I could taste in the least, my mouth had become so exceedingly dry. We now began to think we had lost our way, but pursued on the same course till we came to a log house, where we found a very friendly man who kept a house of entertainment. We got some refreshment, and gave him an account of our travel. He said it was a common thing for travellers to get lost on that way, and informed us that we had gained but fifteen miles. Just as he was saying this, a large wolf came up close to the door, but seeing us, ran furiously into the woods; this, probably, was our visitor the last night. On inquiry we found the distance to the next house seventeen miles. At eleven o'clock we started, determined to see the end of the woods that day; and after blundering over stumps and rocks, and through mud till ten o'clock at night, we arrived at the village of Lower Sandusky. Here I left my fellow-traveller, and travelled on to the town of Greenville.³² I tarried there till Spring, and from thence went to a village called Portland, on Lower Sandusky bay, where I arrived in April, 1819, fully satisfied with roving.³³

Here I found a pleasant village containing about twenty-five houses, besides two taverns, three large stores and store-houses, and three wharves of a considerable length;

³² General Wayne built a fort at Greenville, seventy miles north of Cincinnati, in December, 1793, and marched thence against the Indians. He made it his headquarters after the victory at Fallen Timbers, and there (August, 1795), the treaty of peace was signed. The village was laid out in 1808.—ED.

³³ Portland, falling within the Connecticut "firelands," was laid out by Zalmon Wildman of Danbury, Connecticut, in 1816, in the centre of his tract. A few years later the plat was enlarged and the name changed to Sandusky City.—ED.

the water being of a sufficient depth for vessels to come up and discharge their cargoes. The steamboat stops here on her passage, and leaves many passengers, taking in others, &c. The land in and about this village is owned by two men from Connecticut, who calculated, probably, on a large town or city, but it has not answered their expectations, people finding the place very unhealthy, owing to the badness of the water. The unhealthiness of the place, however, continues only from about the middle of July through the fall months; the remaining part of the year is considered healthy. In the month of March, wishing to go on to Cunningham's [55] Island³⁴ with another man, we took a canoe, and getting three others to assist us, we made a rope fast to the bow of the canoe, and drew it across the bay two miles, which was frozen over, to the lake which was not frozen. When we were about half way across, one man on one side of the canoe and myself on the other, both fell in, the ice breaking under us; but being one on each side, we balanced the canoe and kept our heads out of water until the other men broke the thin ice and drew the canoe partly up on to that which was solid, and we crawled up, and thus escaped a watery grave. We then went on, and reached the other shore. It being late in the afternoon, our friends left us and returned. The beach here was clear of snow and ice. We turned our boat up on one side so that it might make a partial shelter for us during the night, and built a fire in front. We then walked across the neck of land to the other side, saw the lake clear of ice except a few floating pieces. Our object in crossing the bay that afternoon

³⁴ This island, twelve miles northwest of Sandusky City, owed its first name to a French Indian trader called Cunningham, who lived there from 1808 to 1812. It contained few inhabitants — only six acres having been cleared — when in 1833 the greater part of it was purchased by Datus and Irad Kelley. In 1840 the name was by legislative enactment changed to Kelley's Island. — ED.

was, that we might be ready to start on the lake early in the morning, when there is generally but little wind, it being then easier and safer, the water being smooth. We then returned back to our boat, rekindled our fire, took our supper, dried my clothes as well as I could, and camped for the night. But soon the wind began to blow, and the snow fell very fast; within two hours it blew a heavy gale; our fire was blown away, the boat fell over, and our only course was to run back and forth upon the beach to prevent our perishing in the storm, which sometimes appeared impossible for me to do. At length, to our great joy, the morning came, the wind ceased, and the snow abated. The ice, which we crossed in the afternoon, was broken up and driven into heaps, with the addition of what had driven from the lake, and all up and down the lake shore presented the same dreary appearance. We were now hemmed in on all sides, and it was impossible to cross either with a boat or on foot, and our only resource was, to prepare a camp in the woods, which we did by cutting down trees and bushes, sticking the ends into the ground which was not frozen, and forming the tops together over our heads. We thus made us a comfortable cabin, built a large fire, ate our [56] breakfast, and dried our clothes. We here remained seven days, when all our provision had become exhausted, except some dry beans; these boiled in water were made to supply the place of every other necessary; and although we were compelled to acknowledge the flavor was not quite so good, yet we were thankful that we had this means of preserving ourselves from complete starvation. We were now in sight of the village, and kept a large fire burning in the night to satisfy the people that we were alive. During the day we were constantly watching for the separation of the ice, so that we might pass; and on

the seventh day, in the afternoon, we thought we might accomplish our retreat. Accordingly we put our boat into the water, and our things on board, and with a pole pushing the ice from the boat, we made our way along for some distance, when we saw a boat coming in the same manner to meet us. Coming up with her, found it to be the same men who crossed the bay with us on the ice, and who had come to relieve us. They turned their boat about, and we all arrived safely home the same evening without accomplishing our visit to Cunningham's Island.

The inhabitants of the village remained very healthy until July, when a new complaint of the eyes became epidemic among them. It attacked all ages and sexes without distinction, and, with some, would, in a few days, cause total blindness.

This complaint is, I believe, what physicians call the Egyptian Ophthalmia.³⁵ Some, who were very prompt in their applications, were fortunate enough to recover their sight after a considerable time; and others, not made wholly blind, never saw so well as before. Many of the inhabitants were attacked with fever and ague, and these generally escaped the more formidable disease of the eyes.

As for myself, I remained perfectly well until November, when, one morning, my right eye was attacked with inflammation and swelling; and the next morning my left eye was attacked in the same manner. The inflammation gradually increased, so that in about three weeks I was totally blind. My surgeon, a very skilful man, made every exertion for my recovery, and about the middle [57] of December I could discern light; and in ten or twelve days after, could distinguish colors. My surgeon now

³⁵ It is an inflammation of the conjunctiva, with a purulent discharge.—ED.

being called into another section of the country, was absent about three weeks, when, from the want of proper assistance, I grew worse, and was again in total darkness. On his return, using every means in his power, I was so far restored in a few weeks as to be able to discern light; and continuing very slowly to gain until the first of April. I could then see to distinguish capital letters.

A neighboring physician then calling in, advised my old surgeon to make a new application, which he did, and to the expense of the total loss of my sight. I now almost gave up all hopes of recovery; but not willing wholly to despair, attempts were once more made; and by the middle of August I could once more discern colors. Hearing much said of the eye infirmary in the city of New York, I resolved to visit that place; and on the thirteenth of August, 1821, went on board a steamboat, proceeded down the lake two hundred and fifty miles to Buffalo; thence in a waggon one hundred and six miles to Geneva;³⁶ then went on board a boat down the Seneca Lake, crossed the Cayuga Lake into the Erie canal,³⁷ thence to Utica, where I took the stage for Albany. After travelling about forty-five miles, was attacked with fever and

³⁶ Geneva was originally the site of a populous Seneca village. Lying within the Phelps and Gorham Purchase, it was surveyed by them in 1789; settlement began immediately, the village containing fifteen houses in 1791. In 1797 a newspaper, *Ontario Gazette and Genesee Advertiser*, was established. Geneva was incorporated, June, 1812.—ED.

³⁷ The Erie Canal was constructed in three sections; the middle section, extending from Seneca River to Utica, being completed by 1820. The history of the construction of this canal is most interesting. As early as 1808 the legislature ordered a survey of a feasible route. Two years later a board of canal commissioners was established. Unsuccessful in appealing to the national government for aid, DeWitt Clinton presented an elaborate memorial to the legislature (1816), signed also by the other commissioners. The bill authorizing its construction was passed in April, 1817, and work was begun at Rome on July 4 following. It was completed in 1825 and opened with much ceremony.—ED.

ague, and was obliged to stop three days; then went on board a boat down the Mohawk river to Schenectady,⁸⁸ then in a waggon to Albany, where I tarried three weeks, and then went on board a packet to New York, where I arrived the first day of October. I stayed here five days, called at the infirmary several times, and conversed with different patients who had been there for a considerable time; they discouraged me by saying they had found little or no relief, and thought there were no hopes for me; at the same time adding, that if I would go to Boston, I might do much better. I considered the thing well, took their advice, was assisted out on the turnpike, where on foot and alone I proceeded on through New Haven, Hartford and Worcester, and without difficulty found the way to Concord, Massachusetts, where I arrived on the twentieth of October, after an absence of six years. Some time after [58] this I applied to several of the most eminent physicians and surgeons in Boston, and finally went into the General Hospital in that place, where I underwent various medical and surgical treatment to no effect; and giving up all hope of ever enjoying that light which the benevolent Creator has ordained for the happiness and comfort of man, I have hitherto spent my time comfortably, destitute of property, in the company and society of my friends.

⁸⁸ Here was at one time an important Mohawk village, the capital of the Five Nations. In 1662 Van Curler and certain other Dutchmen in Albany and Renselaerswyck bought the land from the Mohawk and founded the present city of Schenectady. Being a frontier town, it suffered severely in the early Indian wars, and in February, 1690, a general massacre of the inhabitants occurred.—ED.

